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Fig. 1 Art Park in Zagreb, formerly known as "Needle Park" and "Hell", has been rehabilitated and is now a place of socialization, culture, and play

Sl . 1. Art Park u Zagrebu, nekadašnji „Narkić-Parkić" i „Pakao", rehabilitiran je u mjesto socijalizacije, kulture i igre

Stjepko Golubić, Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci

University of Zagreb
Faculty of Architecture
Croatia – 10000 Zagreb, Kačićeva 26
golubic.stjepko@gmail.com
bbojanic@arhitekt.hr

Sveučilište u Zagrebu
Arhitektonski fakultet
HR – 10000 Zagreb, Kačićeva 26
golubic.stjepko@gmail.com
bbojanic@arhitekt.hr

Greenequality – Determination of Socio-Spatial Urban Landscape Typology

Greenequality – Određivanje društveno-prostorne tipologije urbanog pejsaža

CITY
EXCLUSION
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
SEGREGATION
SOCIO-SPATIAL INEQUALITY

GRAD
ISKLJUČIVANJE
PERIVOJNA ARHITEKTURA
SEGREGACIJA
DRUŠTVENO-PROSTORNA NEJEDNAKOST

This paper explores the history of limitations in use and accessibility of city landscapes. Case study analysis covers six examples of parks and residential square gardens. Mutual comparison offers a new socio-spatial urban landscape typology, which precedes the selection of models of rehabilitation for city landscapes. The results show that designed landscapes are used not only to mitigate, but also to intensify socio-spatial inequality.

Članak istražuje povijest ograničenja u korištenju i dostupnosti gradskih pejsaža koji doprinose društvenoj nejednakosti i podjeli urbanog pejsaža. Analiza studije slučaja obuhvaća šest primjera parkova i perivojnih trgova. Međusobna usporedba donosi novu društveno-prostornu tipologiju urbanog pejsaža. Rezultati pokazuju da perivoji i perivojni trgovi mogu poslužiti kako ublažavanju tako i osnaživanju društveno-prostorne neravnopravnosti.

Introduction

Uvod

"Any wall built in a landscape creates at least two places — one sunny, one shady. If it forms an enclosure then it divides an 'inside' from the 'outside'; giving something to and taking something from both."

[Simon Unwin[1]]

Two archetypes that define landscape architecture works are a clearing in the woods and an enclosed garden.[2] They can be studied through the notion of exclusion: the clearing in the woods as exclusion from nature and the enclosed garden as captured, controlled, and excluded nature. The history of landscape architecture is riddled with examples of socio-spatial segregation and exclusion, from English garden squares used exclusively by residents of adjacent housing, racially segregated American beaches, parks, and cemeteries to contemporary examples of exclusion through privatisation of public spaces. Even one of the first events described in the Bible is Adam and Eve's exclusion from the Garden of Eden because they broke its rule of conduct.

Since the 1960s there has been a progressive growth in the research of accommodating urban and landscape design to all social groups.[3] Recent research has been exploring the subject of regulative dimensions of architecture and visual culture, which contribute to socio-spatial inequality and city duality.[4]

The aim of this research is to explore the regulative dimension of open green spaces in the urban context (urban landscape). The purpose is to propose a new typology of urban landscapes depending on their *greenequality*. The term *greenequality* is coined to define a qualitative feature of a designed landscape that indicates whether it is an instrument of segregation/exclusion, a place which accommodates segregation/exclusion, or whether it is inclusive for all. The research accentuates the challenge of identifying former and emerging ways of design and management, which contribute to socio-spatial inequality in urban landscape. This paper is the initial part of more comprehensive research which covers more examples and other types of open green spaces such as gardens, cemeteries, and beaches.

(Landscape) Segregation
/ (Pejsažna) segregacija

Segregation is a social, economic, and spatial term. It can be visible[5] in visual markers and signs or invisible.[6] Segregation can be imposed as a result of discrimination, or it can be willing, in which case particular groups separate themselves from others because of fear (gated communities) or for the sake of privacy and tranquillity (nudist colonies, gay beaches in Miami and New York, women-only beaches in Italy, Australia and Turkey). It can have positive and negative aspects. A positive effect of segregation is providing places where they can feel safe and tranquil for people who are experiencing discrimination or unpleasantness because of their race, religion, sex, cultural background, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, or chosen lifestyle. Negative effects of segregation in designed landscapes include distrust and hostility between segregated groups, unevenness in the distribution of and access to open green spaces, and difficulties in establishing green infrastructure. Segregation can be temporal, when groups alternate in using a particular place, or spatial, when disparate groups use separate parts of space at the same time without interference.

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1   Unwin, 1997: 38

2   Girot, 2016: 18

3   Some of the notable authors are Jane Jacobs, Jan Gehl, William H. Whyte, and Sharon Zukin.

4   Knorr, 2016; Low, 2017; Armborst et al., 2017

5   e.g. apartheid in the South African Republic – different benches for blacks and whites, segregated state parks in the USA

6   Larsen, 2003: 111. A case of invisible segregation is Canada Park in Israel. The park was designed in place of three Palestinian villages which were destroyed by the Israeli army in an attempt to conquer new territory. Olive trees as a "symbol of Palestinian long-lasting connection to the ground" were replaced by pine trees which have been a symbol of "Zionistic foresting of the Promised Land" in order to cover up the remains of destroyed villages and to aggravate the return of the Palestinian villagers. In the park there is no visible segregation or limitations of access, but the history of the site and the replacement of symbols points to the segregation and the exclusion which are still ongoing. [Braverman, 2014: 1]

7   Sibley, 2003: i

8   Exclusion is camouflaged with another objective such as adding comfort or aesthetic improvement. It is effective because the targeted groups know that the design is meant to exclude them.

9   "But what meaning has the iron railing? Either, observe, that you are living in the midst of such bad characters that you must keep them out by main force of bar, or that

(Landscape) Exclusion
/ (Pejsažno) isključivanje

"The human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion." [Sibley[7]]

Socio-spatial exclusion occurs when undesired groups are excluded from engaging meaningfully with and within certain spaces, further legitimizing their social and economic marginality. Landscape exclusion can be manifested through denied access, right to protest, restrictions in use, dress code, and entrance fees, which decreases the degree of democracy in public space.

Landscape segregation and exclusion can be implicit and explicit. Implicit or suggestive exclusion is an inconspicuous means of excluding particular groups through design or the lack of it.[8] Implicit exclusion includes removal of identity features, cultural and historic monuments, representation of people, or contributing to fear and the feeling of not belonging. People do not have to be physically segregated or excluded to feel that they are not welcome in certain places. Explicit or blatant exclusion communicates a strong and unambiguous message that someone is not welcome. Walls, fences, gates, spikes, and other elements limit the accessibility of places or disable their use in unwanted ways.[9] William H. Whyte considers the instruments of exclusion as the greatest problem of city space improvement because they affect everyone.[10] Sibley points out that the study of exclusion is inseparable from the study of inclusion, concluding that "what seems exclusionary to someone might seem inclusionary to some other."[11] Sarah Schindler points out the problem of proving that particular archi-

tectural decisions were made with intention to exclude and the fact that people have difficulties in identifying the exclusive nature of architecture which they see as an "innocuous feature".[12]

Elements of Inclusion/Exclusion
/ Elementi uključivanja i isključivanja

Different elements of open green spaces can contribute to segregation and exclusion by their design and positioning, or the lack of them. They can enhance segregation and exclusion physically by dividing landscapes, fencing them or psychologically by sending explicit or implicit messages to the users about the usage, control, and proprietorship. Elements of inclusion/exclusion are barriers, amenities, CCTV, guards, urban furniture, and greenery. According to Sharon Zukin, parks which were crime-ridden and occupied by the undesirables "use design as an implicit code of inclusion and exclusion".[13] "New ethnic and immigrant groups can be excluded because of a lack of sensitivity to cultural barriers such as inability to read or speak English, nonverbal architectural cues, as well as signs of cultural representation"[14], or they can be excluded physically by being removed from designed landscapes for not using them as prescribed.[15]

METHODOLOGY
METODOLOGIJA

In this research, urban landscape is understood as a network of open green spaces such as parks, squares, and other commonly public spaces which are used for socializing, recreation, and cultural purposes. The relationship between socio-spatial inequality and open green spaces was researched and a detailed survey of literature on this subject was conducted. The purpose of this study was to determine identity factors, typology, and methods of rehabilitation for open green spaces of inequality by using the Heritage Urbanism method[16]. General identity factors arose from the historic and present understanding and purpose of urban parks and residential square gardens from the point of

Fig. 2 Modesty sign — an explicit means of exclusion which is aimed at women in orthodox Jewish neighbourhoods in Israel Vs. lamp post banners in Central Park that send inclusive messages by the private management of a public park

Sl. 2. Skromnosni znak — eksplicitni alat isključivanja usmjeren na žene u ortodoksnim židovskim susjedstvima u Izraelu naspram zastava na rasvjetnim stupovima u Central Parku koje ukazuju na promoviranje inkluzije sa strane privatne uprave javnoga parka

Fig. 3 Harbor Gateway Pocket Park in Los Angeles — installation of some playground equipment was enough to move sex offenders, who must live no closer than 200 yards from a school, park, or playground, out of the neighbourhood

Sl. 3. Harbor Gateway Džepni park u Los Angelesu — instalacijom nekoliko sprava za dječju igru seksualni prijestupnici, koji ne smiju živjeti bliže od 200 jarda (oko 183 metara) od škole, parka ili dječjeg igrališta, bili su prisiljeni iseliti se iz susjedstva

you are yourself of a character requiring to be kept inside in the same manner. Your iron railing always means thieves outside, or Bedlam inside; it can mean nothing else than that. If the people outside were good for anything, a hint in the way of fence would be enough for them; but because they are violent and at enmity with you, you are forced to put the close bars and the spikes at the top." [Ruskin, 2007: 92]

10 Whyte, 2009: 156

11 Armborst et al., 2017: 11. This can be seen in places that are heavily controlled. Some people perceive them as inclusive because they feel safe in them, while others disagree, stressing the feeling of being watched and not being able to relax.

12 Schindler, 2015: 1954

13 Zukin, 2000: 25

14 Low et al., 2005: 172

15 During the immigration crisis in 2015, police officers physically excluded immigrant users from parks in Belgrade who were congregating, sitting, and sleeping on the benches and grass. Public campaign "Parks for all" was initiated to prevent the repression and to enable free use of the parks. [https://noborderserbia.wordpress.com /2015/06/12/stop-represiji-parkovi-su-za-sve-stop-the-repression-parks-]

16 Heritage Urbanism — Urban and Spatial Models for Revival and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage is a project financed by the Croatian Science Foundation [HERU HRZZ-2032] and it has been carried out at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb, principal investigator prof. Mladen Obad Šćitaroci, Ph.D.

Fig. 4 Elements of exclusion – benches in a shopping district have been caged to prevent congregation of winos who have been disturbing the consumers while doing Christmas shopping, Angouleme, France
Sl. 4. Elementi isključivanja – klupe u trgovačkom predjelu koje su ograđene kako bi se spriječilo okupljanje pijanaca koji su uznemiravali potrošače tijekom predbožićne kupovine, Angouleme, Francuska

Fig. 5 "European immigration crisis" started in 2015 and resulted in temporary conversion of public parks into places of living Vs. St Andrew Square in Edinburgh was originally built as a Georgian pleasure garden. It was periodically opened to public and after the rehabilitation, which included redesign, it has been converted to a public space.
Sl. 5. „Europska imigrantska kriza" počela je 2015. godine i rezultirala privremenom prenamjenom javnih parkova u životne prostore. St. Andrew Square u Edinburgu prvotno je izgrađen kao vrt za uživanje, povremeno otvoren javnosti, a nakon rehabilitacije, koja je uključivala novo oblikovanje, trajno je prenamijenjen u javni prostor.
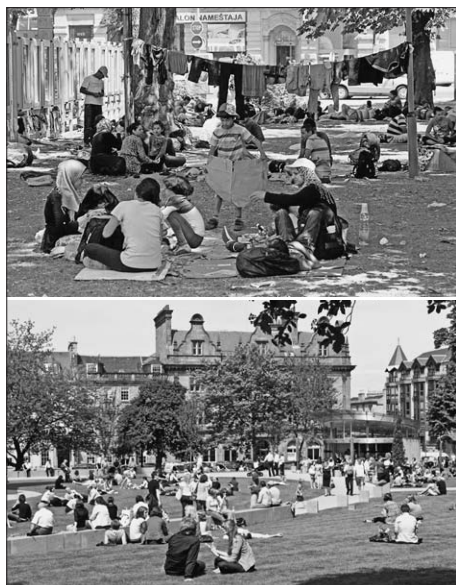
view of socio-spatial inequality. Specific identity factors for the *greenequality* types were determined through the case study comparative analysis. In this research, designed landscapes are seen primary as types of public places developed for recreation and aesthetic purposes. For this reason, other types of commonly public places such as squares and streets were omitted. The case study analysis method was used on six critical cases[17] from around the world, divided into two types: urban parks as the epitome of recreational public spaces and residential square gardens that were developed for private purposes, mainly for ornamentation.[18] Selected case studies express different types within proposed typology, and their hybrids. Some of the cases (High Line Park[19] and Gramercy Park[20]) have already been mentioned and analysed by other authors as places of socio-spatial inequality.

The case study analysis has determined distinguishing features for different types of open green spaces of inequality which were used as the criteria for a comparative analysis. Those features are:

— Publicness typology: open green spaces can be public, semi-public, semi-private, and private. Čaldarović and Šarinić consider public space as intended and used by everyone, semi-private and semi-public as selectively accessible and open, controlled spaces, and private space as having rigidly prescribed rules and being regulated by different means (e.g. public spaces which are occupied by private businesses or housing with prescribed use regime).[21]

— Barrier: fences, walls, hedges and other types of barriers are design elements which physically, psychologically, and visually divide or exclude space and people.

— Gates: gating can contribute to exclusion by being locked throughout certain hours or limiting access to particular groups. Gates can also be inclusive features that encourage people to enter.

— Seats: commercial seats are those which people may use only if they pay for a service, such as seats in cafés. When the number of commercial seats in public places is higher than the number of non-commercial seats, it points to privatisation and consumerization of public space and deters non-consumers from the public place. People consider provision of seats in public places as their right.

— Food and drink: provision of food and drink is a method used for inconspicuous supervision, to control what is sold, and a way to benefit financially from license fees.[22]

— Opening hours: opening hours are commonly established to protect urban green spaces from vandalism but can be an exclusive feature for some groups.

— Ownership: although ownership of an open space is not a precise tool for determining the degree of its openness to public, there is a tendency for private designed landscapes to have more access limitations and generally more rules of conduct which, when breached, can result in exclusion.[23]

— Management: open green spaces can be managed by a public service or a private firm. There is an increase in the number of privately-owned public spaces, especially in the United Kingdom and the USA (Paley Park, LentSpace, Zuccotti Park) and public spaces that are privately managed (Central Park, Bryant Park, High Line Park). Management is an important factor in socio-spatial inequality because public spaces are supposed to be open to all, but private management often has instruments to exclude the undesirables, especially the non-consumers.[24] Private management of public spaces can be a tool of exclusion (beaches in Croatia) or a tool of rehabilitation of excluded/segregated space (Bryant Park Corporation).

— Greenequality type: open green spaces can be divided into different *greenequality* types depending on their *greenequality* – the relationship between their inclusive and exclusive elements.

— Segregation/exclusion types: identification of a certain blatant or covert phenomenon can be a sign of segregation or exclusion – occupancy (drug users, winos, and homeless people), segregated amenities, identity exclusion, environmental gentrification, being closed to public, working hours, defensible space, and limitations in use.

— Rehabilitation type: certain rehabilitation types were identified which contribute to alleviating socio-spatial inequality – renovation, introduction of new amenities, food and drink, visual culture, events, and opening to public.

Methods of designed landscape rehabilitation were identified and developed from the case study analysis, depending on their initial and targeted/reached *greenequality* type.

17 "Critical cases are chosen because they have features that are central to the teorethical purpose of the investigation." [Swaffield, 2017: 109]

18 Obad Šćitaroci, Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, 2004: 26

19 Millington, 2015

20 Low, 2003

21 Čaldarović, Šarinić, 2017: 19

22 Rosenzweig, Blackmar, 1992: 329

23 Although privately owned and managed, Paley Park is considered more open to public than a publicly-owned, privately-managed Iveagh Gardens park in Dublin with its short opening hours and frequent closing to public because of private bookings.

24 "The need to manage urban space and particularly to separate different kinds of people in space is a pre-eminent consideration in contemporary urban design, matched only by the ever-present requirement to gratify the egos of developers." [Christopherson, 1994: 409]

Table I Parks' and residential square gardens' case study analysis based on the features of socio-spatial inequality
Tablica I. Analiza primjera parkova i perivojnih trgova na temelju svojstva društveno-prostorne nejednakosti

#	Name	Location	Publicness typology	Elements of exclusion/ inclusion				Publicness			Segregation/ exclusion type	Greenequality type	Rehabilitation	Publicness typology	Rehabilitation type	Segregation/ exclusion type	Greenequality type
				Barrier	Gates	Seats	Food/drink	Opening hours	Ownership	Management							
												Greenequality I. − former			**Greenequality II. − current**		
1.	2.		3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
PARKS																	
1	High Line Park	NYC, USA	public	+	−	c/nc	f/d	daytime	public	public/ private	environmental gentrification, occupation by tourists	exclusive landscape / landscape as an instrument of exclusion	−	x	x	x	x
2	"Narkic Parkic" /Art Park	Zagreb, Croatia	public	+	−	nc	d	0-24	public	public	occupation by drug-users	landscape as a barrier / excluded landscape	+	semi-public	visual culture, events, sports, drinks	x	inclusive landscape
3	Paley Park	NYC, USA	semi-public	+	+	c/nc	f/d	8-20	private	private	working hours, limitations in use	inclusive landscape	+	public	x	x	x
RESIDENTIAL SQUARE GARDENS																	
4	Zrinjevac Park	Zagreb, Croatia	public	−	−	nc	*	0-24	public	public	occupation by private events	inclusive landscape (exclusive during events)	−	x	x	x	x
5	Gramercy Park	NYC, USA	private	+	+	nc	o	daytime (only key holders)	private	private	closed to public	exclusive landscape	−	x	x	x	x
6	St Andrew Square	Edinburgh, Scotland	private	+	+	c/nc	f/d	0-24	private	private	closed to public	exclusive landscape	+	public	opened to public	x	inclusive landscape

Legend
6.) Seats: c – commercial, nc – noncommercial
7.) Food and drink: f – food, d – drink, o – nothing, * – food and drink only during festivals

RESEARCH RESULTS

Rezultati istraživanja

The comparative analysis is given in Table I. Elements of exclusion/inclusion were identified and used as a starting point to determine *greenequality* types. Publicness is defined as openness to public, and informs us whether the ownership matches the management. Segregation and exclusion types point to the *greenequality* type, i.e. occupation by drug-users indicates an excluded landscape, working hours and limitations in use are not strong enough indicators of inequality because they are mainly used to be inclusive, and being closed to public is a clear sign that the landscape is exclusive.

The analysis shows that publicness typology does not always correspond with the ownership and the management. Barriers and gates are equally used in public and private open green spaces, their main function is demarcation, but they turn into exclusive elements when the barriers become mental or the gates get locked. Food and drink are an inclusive element but can become exclusive if they are too expensive for most people. Working hours can be perceived as an exclu-

sive element, but they are often established for safety and prevention of vandalism, in which case they are an inclusive element. In relation to residential square gardens, parks do not show indications of being more open to public. Public residential square gardens are commonly open at night time because they are considered safer being over-watched by surrounding residents. Designed landscapes can be partly or completely rehabilitated by removing exclusive elements or turning them into inclusive elements and introducing the new ones.

Five *greenequality* types were identified, four in the case study analysis and one additional (segregated landscape) through the literature review. The latter is mainly linked to historic designed landscapes:

− **Exclusive landscape** is a landscape which is controlled by the dominant group that chooses/decides who can enter and/or dwell. Control is carried out by using means of exclusion such as establishing business improvement districts (BIDs)[25], gating, lack of seating, and hiring private guards. An example of exclusive landscape is Gramercy Park, a private residential square garden in the lower Manhattan. It has been locked and pri-

25 Business improvement districts firstly appeared in the 1970s Toronto and have spread to the rest of the continent by organizing local, geographically connected, private firms which have, through increased taxes or fees, improved public space surrounding their establishments. Public space becomes intended mainly to consumers, privately managed and controlled through CCTV and private guards.
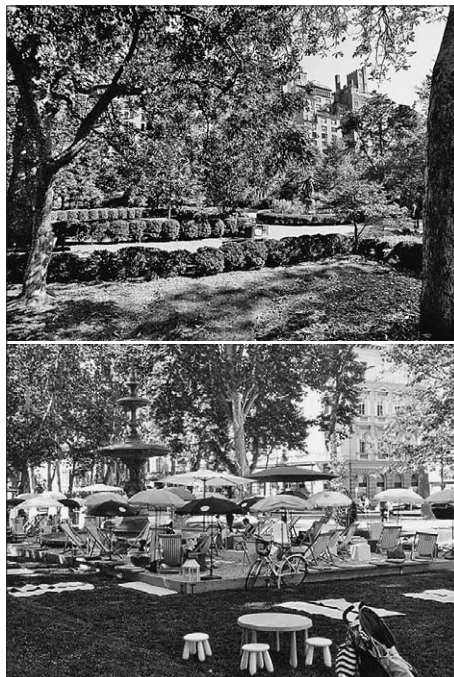
Fig. 6 Exclusive (Gramercy Park) vs. inclusive (Zrinjevac Park) greenequality type
Sl. 6. Ekskluzivni (Gramercy Park) naspram inkluzivnog (Park Zrinjevac) *greenequality*-tipa

Fig. 7 Although both High Line Park and Paley Park are publicly open spaces, the former is considered to be a place of inconspicuous exclusion and the latter is privately owned and managed
Sl. 7. Iako su High Line Park i Paley Park javno dostupni prostori, prvi se smatra mjestom neprimjetnog isključivanja lokalnog stanovništva, a drugi je u privatnom vlasništvu i isto je tako upravljan

vately managed since 1844, despite being surrounded by public space. Gramercy Park is accessible only to the owners of the surrounding buildings who get the key for a fee, an atavism of English garden squares which have been a means of class segregation since the 17th century.

— **Excluded landscape** is a public landscape which is occupied and appropriated by marginal social groups that repel other users. Lofland describes such public spaces as 'parochial'.[26] People are allowed in excluded landscapes, but they do not feel safe in them so they avoid and sometimes name them with the intention to display their hostility (e.g. "Needle Park"). From the 1970s until the end of the 1980s Bryant Park was a place where drug users and other undesirables congregated. It was enclosed with high walls and visually cut off from the surrounding streets. The park was a dark and dreary place, badly managed, with a high crime rate. There were no signs of control. William H. Whyte was hired to analyse the park and find a way to bring people back to the park. He reported: "If you went out and hired the dope dealers, you couldn't get a more villainous crew to show the urgency of the [present Bryant Park] situation."[27] His proposal was to build more entrances, lower the entire park, and remove the eye-leveled shrubbery to open the views into the park from the street. Landscape architecture firm Hanna/Olin made a design proposal which included new entrances, improvement and fixing of paths and lighting, restoration of park monuments, renovation of restrooms, and introduction of movable chairs to give people a feeling of control over space. In 1992, the park was reopened under private management. Two restaurant pavilions and four concession kiosks were opened to provide food and drinks to the park users. Programmed activities were introduced to contribute to conviviality, working hours were established, and private guards in cooperation with controlling officers provide security. An example of a recently rehabilitated excluded landscape is Art Park in Zagreb, located between the Strossmayer Promenade and Ilica Street. It was called "Junky-Park" and "Hell", populated by drug users who repelled everyone else. The rehabilitation of the park started in 2016 by covering up graffiti with murals, introducing street art exhibitions, drink vendors, new playground, and organised events. For the time being, events are organised only during the summer months. The park's image has changed, even parents with children are using it and the rehabilitation has re-established a walking connection between the two parallel streets.

— **Landscape as a barrier** is a means of segregation in which landscape is designed with intention to divide areas inhabited by disparate groups of people. Thoroughbred Park in Lexington, Kentucky was designed to be a physical and visual boundary between neighbourhoods. It is not an obviously racialized space, but as the history of the city is analysed, it can be seen that the black people, who had a great influence on the city's tradition of horse breeding and horseracing, were left out of the design of the park's sculpture. Hilly topography is a design feature that was introduced to block the view from the main roads onto the impoverished (black) neighbourhood and a barrier for the walking route to the wealthy (white) neighbourhood.[28] Landscape topography is a socio-spatial barrier used in dual cities such as Sao Paolo where there is a large gap between the rich and the poor inhabiting the same city. Boundary parks can become landscape as a barrier because they are "located between different neighbourhoods and might not fall under the purview of any one constituent group, as opposed to parks totally surrounded by a single neighbourhood", which can lead to "lack of use, community neglect and eventually lack of maintenance".[29]

— **Landscape as an instrument of exclusion**. Developing new open green spaces or improving the existing ones can have a gentrification effect on a neighbourhood and the exclusion of some people. Environmental gentrification[30] can be observed on historic examples of landscape architecture such as garden squares and parks (Birkenhead Park, Central Park) which were developed partly to increase the value of adjacent and nearby properties. English landscape style has changed the design of parks in rural parts in the way that food gardens and the servants who took care of them were sent to and hidden on the margins of the land so as not to interfere

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26 Lofland, 1998
27 http://bryantpark.org/blog/history
28 Clowney, 2013: 19
29 Solecki, Welch, 1995: 94
30 Anthropologist Melissa Checker has coined the term 'environmental gentrification' to describe a process in which "operating under the seemingly a-political rubric of sustainability, environmental gentrification builds on the material and discursive success of the urban environmental justice movement and appropriates them to serve high-end redevelopment that displaces low income residents". [Checker, 2011: 212]
31 Millington, 2015: 2329
32 *** 2011
33 Reichl, 2016: 2
34 Millington, 2015: 2333
35 Tyson 2014: 426
36 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqEhWCMLitE
37 Cranz, 1989: 204
38 https://www.theguardian.com/edinburgh/2010/oct/01/edinburgh-green-space-city-centre-gardens.
39 Bodnar, 2015: 13

with the promoted Arcadian style. A contemporary example of environmental gentrification is High Line Park in New York which contributes to segregation through disproportional allocation of city funds to its development and management as opposed to other green spaces in the city. High line was also criticised because its targeted users are tourists, without provision of amenities for the locals.[31] From 2003 to 2011 the price of real estate adjacent to High Line Park increased by 103%.[32] The price increase has led to a change in park-user structure; racial and ethnic diversity of users is disproportionate to other parts of the neighbourhood, city and other parks in Manhattan.[33] Millington points out that environmental gentrification is not a result of landscape design but a particular way of design and the process politics.[34] High Line Park is at the same time an attractive place in the way that it is visited by great numbers of people, but also an exclusive place because it is intended for particular groups.

In California, pocket parks are being built as a means intended to exclude sexual offenders from the neighbourhood. In accordance with "Jessica's Law", sex offenders cannot live near parks or schools. This regulation has contributed to the increase of homelessness because of the difficulties that sex offenders have in finding housing compliant with it.[35] Harbor Gateway Pocket Park in Los Angeles is an example of a pocket park designed with the sole intention of exclusion.[36]

— **Segregated landscape** is used separately without interchange. Segregation can be visible in designed landscapes bordering neighbourhoods inhabited by different races or socioeconomic classes because the areas near the poorer or ethnic minorities are equipped with fewer amenities, they are less kempt and the access is more difficult. The examples of segregated landscapes are State Parks in the USA which were racially divided and reform parks (1900-1930) which were divided by age and sex.[37]

Conclusion

Zaključak

The results show that designed landscapes can be perceived as places that have originated from a form of positive segregation and exclusion (nature and people) which enabled new qualities in people's lives and have become places where segregation and exclusion can have negative consequences. Certain historic means of landscape segregation and exclusion have disappeared, some have been redefined and others remain as atavisms from the past.

The aim of the research was to propose a new urban landscape typology which distinguishes designed landscapes according to their *greenequality*, a qualitative feature stemming from design and management analysis that determines socio-spatial relationship of a designed landscape. Five different *greenequality* types were identified, which can be used as a starting point for choosing a rehabilitation method.

The existing and future landscapes of segregation and exclusion are bound to affect urban planning and design with an increase in number of parks which should accommodate all of the groups that are not being mixed. However, there will be a decrease in conviviality and trust between people. Public spaces are being privatized, public seating in squares is being occupied by private terraces of cafes, and usage of public places is restricted to formal activities. Boundaries between public and private space are being erased. Privatization of public places and migration crisis are just few of the many problems that affect the need for provision of new public spaces, which is particularly difficult in cities that are densely built. There is a need to identify negative segregation and exclusion which occurs through the design and management of designed landscapes and to find a suitable rehabilitation method which would alleviate the problem of socio-spatial inequality.

The limitation of this research is that determination of socio-spatial inequality is based on qualitative factors which do not measure the degree (severity) of inequality, only its existence. Also, in some cases it is difficult to determine whether an element is inclusive or exclusive because particular elements can be inclusive for some groups and exclusive for others.

There are examples of initiatives to open up urban landscapes which are otherwise exclusive. St Andrew Square in Edinburgh has been permanently open to public. Rutland Square garden, Charlotte Square and Queen Street Garden are considered to be next, but the problem arises because of some owners' lack of desire to let others into their private realm[38]. There are also events such as Courtyards in Zagreb, Book Festival in Charlotte Square, and Open Garden Squares Weekend in London which allow people to visit places that are otherwise closed to public for a certain period of time.

"If we are capable of designing certain groups out, we can learn how to 'design the marginalised in' and how to design better and more inclusive cities."[39]

[Written in English by authors. Proof-read by VM, obrt za poduku i prevođenje, vl. Vedrana Marinović, Ulica Jurja Dobrile 20, Zagreb]
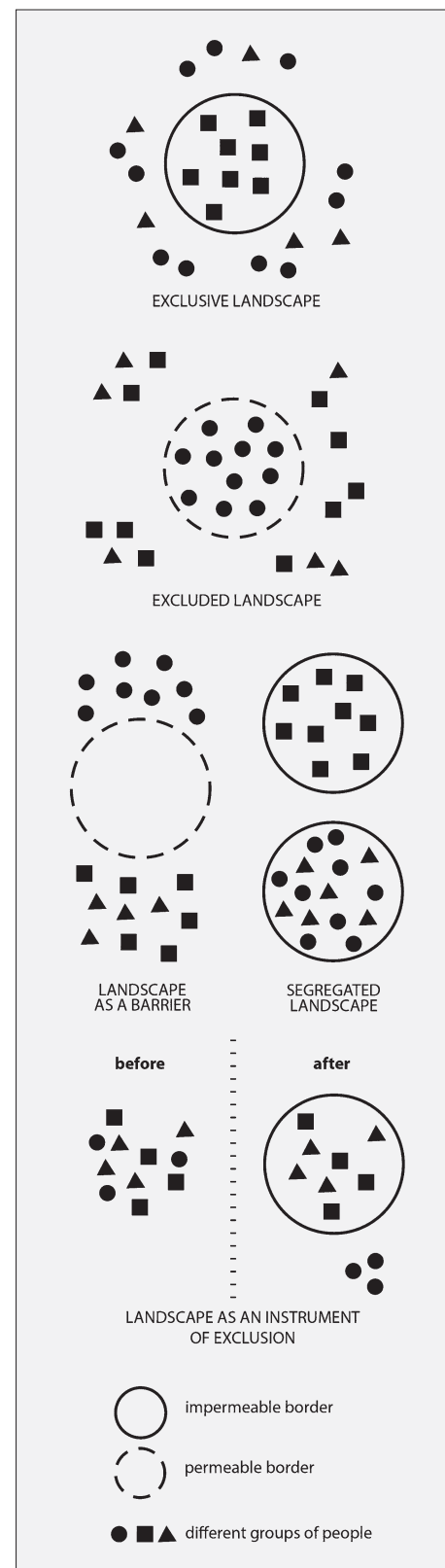

EXCLUSIVE LANDSCAPE

EXCLUDED LANDSCAPE

LANDSCAPE AS A BARRIER   SEGREGATED LANDSCAPE

before   after

LANDSCAPE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF EXCLUSION

◯ impermeable border

⬚ permeable border

● ■ ▲ different groups of people

Fig. 8 Greenequality types diagrams
Sl. 8. Dijagrami *greenequality*-tipova

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ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLE SOURCES
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FIG. 1   Photo: S. Golubić

FIG. 2   https://www.thejc.com/image/policy:1.449945:1512739173/.jpg?f=16x9&h=576&w=1024&pfhw=a4c2c21) [12/4/2018]; http://payload26.cargocollective.com/1/6/203041/2831014/lawn.jpg [22/8/2018]

FIG. 3   Google Earth [8/9/2017]

FIG. 4   https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11314081/French-city-installs-anti-homeless-cages-around-benches.html AFP/Getty [22/8/2018]

FIG. 5   http://mondo.rs/a824294/Info/Drustvo/Beograd-Imigranti-opljackani-na-spavanju.html [22/8/2018]; https://www.gillespies.co.uk/projects/st-andrew-square [22/8/2018]

FIG. 6   https://www.nacionalno.hr/zrinjevac-najljepsa-plaza-u-gradu-provjerite-sto-vas-sve-tamo-ocekuje/ [1/10/2018]; https://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/30/realestate/how-do-you-get-a-key-to-gramercy-park.html [1/10/2018]

FIG. 7   https://streeteasy.com/blog/changing-grid-high-line/ [1/10/2018]; https://www.outdoorproject.com/adventures/new-york/parks-wilderness/paley-park [1/10/2018]

FIG. 8   S. Golubić

TABLE I   S. Golubić

Summary

Sažetak

Greenequality – Određivanje društveno-prostorne tipologije urbanog pejsaža

Arhetipovi perivojne arhitekture, šumski proplanak i omeđeni vrt nastali su isključivanjem iz prirode i isključivanjem prirode kroz zatvaranje i kontrolu. Gradski su pejsaži prostori koji bi trebali biti otvoreni i jednako dostupni svim pripadnicima javnosti, no kod njih se pojavljuje i iskazuje društveno-prostorna nejednakost koja može biti vidljiva i prikrivena te stoga teško prepoznatljiva. Analizom elemenata uključivanja i isključivanja u gradskim pejsažima može se utvrditi jesu li oni prostor u kojem se odvija društveno-prostorna nejednakost ili instrument kojim se ista provodi. Segregacija kao društveni, ekonomski i prostorni pojam te društveno-prostorno isključivanje pojavljuju se kao manifestacija društveno-prostorne nejednakosti, a imaju za posljedicu daljnju marginalizaciju pogođenih društvenih skupina, smanjenje demokratičnosti gradskih pejsaža i međusobnog povjerenja, komunikacije i interakcije između različitih društvenih skupina. Segregacija i isključivanje mogu biti implicitni ako se provode prikrivenim instrumentima te eksplicitni u slučajevima kada se koriste eklatantni, uglavnom fizički instrumenti koji onemogućuju slobodan ulazak i korištenje gradskih pejsaža. Mnogobrojna su istraživanja privatizacije i nedostupnosti javnoga prostora, no ne istražuje se metodologija identifikacije gradskih pejsaža nejednakosti i njihova tipologija. Ovaj rad istražuje utjecaj oblikovanja i upravljanja gradskim pejsažima na povećanje ili smanjenje društveno-prostorne nejednakosti. Cilj je istraživanja bio predložiti novu tipologiju gradskih pejsaža ovisno o njihovu odnosu prema društveno-prostornoj nejednakosti koja se naziva greenequality. Opći čimbenici identiteta proizašli su iz povijesnog i sadašnjeg poimanja te korištenja parkova i perivojnih trgova u pogledu društveno-prostorne nejednakosti. Specifični čimbenici identiteta za pojedine greenequality-tipove određeni su kataloškom obradom odabranih primjera usporedbene analize. Istraživanje se nastavlja, a u ovome radu iznose se prvi rezultati i zaključci. Proizašli rezultati i metodologija istraživanja mogu poslužiti u prepoznavanju i definiranju gradskih pejsaža nejednakosti.

Metodologija istraživanja temelji se na polazištima znanstvenog projekta Urbanizam naslijeđa [*Heritage Urbanism* – HERU] koji se provodi na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Čimbenici identiteta istraženi su usporedbom šest domaćih i svjetskih primjera parkova i perivojnih trgova, i to: Thoroughbred Park, Art Park, Paley Park, Park Zrinjevac, Gramercy Park i St. Andrew Square. Primjeri su birani prema dvama tipovima: urbani parkovi kao utjelovljenje javnih prostora namijenjenih rekreaciji i perivojni trgovi građeni u privatne svrhe, uglavnom radi podizanja estetske kvalitete prostora. Odabrani primjeri iskazuju različite tipove predložene tipologije. Komparativna analiza obuhvatila je elemente uključivanja i isključivanja: funkcionalnu tipologiju, barijere, vrata, sjedala, prodaja hrane i pića, radno vrijeme, vlasništvo i upravljanje, na temelju kojih se odredio prvotni *greenequality*-tip, provedena rehabilitacija i *greenequlity*-tip kao rezultat rehabilitacije. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na to da tipologija javnosti prostora nije uvijek istovjetna njegovu vlasništvu i upravljanju. Barijere i vrata u istoj se mjeri koriste kako u javnim tako i u privatnim parkovima i perivojnim trgovima. Mogu imati funkciju označavanja prostora, ali i služiti kao elementi isključivanja ako barijere postanu mentalne, a vrata zaključana. Hrana i piće element su uključivanja koji, ako nisu dostupni svima, mogu postati element isključivanja. Radno vrijeme može se promatrati kao element isključivanja, iako je često njegova svrha povećanje sigurnosti i prevencija vandalizma. U odnosu na perivojne trgove, parkovi ne pokazuju naznake veće dostupnosti javnosti. Javni su perivojni trgovi uobičajeno otvoreni noću jer se smatraju sigurnima, budući da se nalaze pod stalnom prismotrom stanovnika. Gradski pejsaži mogu djelomično ili u potpunosti proći proces rehabilitacije uklanjanjem elemenata isključivanja ili njihovom preobrazbom u elemente uključivanja, kao i uvođenjem novih elemenata.

Usporednom analizom prepoznato je pet *greenequality*-tipova:
Ekskluzivni gradski pejsaž kojim upravlja dominantna skupina koja određuje tko smije ući i boraviti.
Isključeni gradski pejsaž koji okupira marginalizirana skupina, pristup je omogućen, ali se izbjegava zbog straha i osjećaja nepripadanja.
Gradski pejsaž kao barijera, oblikovan i izgrađen sa svrhom prostornog odvajanja disparitetnih skupina.
Gradski pjesaž kao instrument isključivanja, kojeg je svrha ili posljedica isključivanje određenih društvenih skupina iz susjedstva.
Podijeljeni gradski pejsaž koji omogućuje istodobno korištenje ako su skupine prostorno odijeljene ili korištenje istog prostora naizmjenično.
Zaključak je da se isključivanje i segregacija u gradskim pejsažima ne treba doživljavati samo kao negativan rezultat društveno-prostorne nejednakosti, već kao pozitivan instrument koji omogućava samoaktualizaciju, te sigurniji i kvalitetniji život u gradovima kao mjestima miješanja mnogobrojnih i katkad konfliktnih društvenih skupina. Postojanje društveno-prostorne nejednakosti u gradskim pejsažima ukazuje na potrebu za njihovom identifikacijom i rehabilitacijom. Fenomeni privatizacije javnih gradskih pejsaža te povećanja diferencijacije i dispariteta među društvenim skupinama nastaju kao posljedica suvremenih svjetskih zbivanja, kao što su intenzivne migracije, i dovest će do potrebe za stvaranjem većega broja gradskih pejsaža, njihove fragmentacije i novih tipova koji će omogućiti postojećim i novim društvenim skupinama aktualizaciju temeljnih ljudskih životnih potreba koje im gradski pejsaži omogućuju. Inicijative kao što su trajno otvaranje javnosti St. Andrew Square u Edinburghu te periodično otvaranje privatnih dvorišta i perivojnih trgova u Zagrebu i Londonu upravo mnogobrojnošću posjetitelja i unapređenjem životnosti pokazuju da javnost vapi za novim i raznovrsnijim javno dostupnim prostorima te da postoji potreba za rehabilitacijom gradskih pejsaža kako bi postali društveno-prostorno pravedniji.

Biographies

Biografije

Stjepko Golubić, MLA, employee in the architectural practice *Kostelgrad-projekt d.o.o.* in Pregrada. He is a Ph.D. student at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb.
Prof. **Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci**, Ph.D., architect, is Head of the Department of Urban Planning, Spatial Planning and Landscape Architecture at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb.
[www.scitaroci.hr]

Stjepko Golubić, mag.ing.kraj.arh., zaposlen je u arhitektonskom uredu Kostelgrad-projekt d.o.o. u Pregradi. Doktorand je na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.
Prof. dr.sc. **Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci**, dipl. ing.arh. Predstojnica je Katedre za urbanizam, prostorno planiranje i pejsažnu arhitekturu na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. [www.scitaroci.hr]